

DISCRIMINATORY VIEWS AND ATTITUDES BASED ON CONFUCIAN SINO-CENTRISM: WHY DID NATURALIZED WRITERS COMPOSE CLASSICAL KOREAN POEMS?

YIM, JU-TAK

Korean Language Education, Pusan National University, South Korea

ABSTRACT

This study aims to elucidate the specific contexts of Classical Korean poems composed by two nationally recognized writers, Yi Chi-ran and Kim Ch'ung-sŏn. Both of them and their poems have recently begun to be noticed by some scholars in the Korean academic world. This is related to the fact that they both were born in places regarded as part of the uncivilized, outside the Chinese world by Korean people who had regularly classified a man according to his inborn characteristics into two sorts; 'the civilized' and 'the uncivilized'. This study verifies the reasons why both authors composed their own Korean poems to be related to the motivation to changing Korean people's discriminatory views and attitudes towards each author's heritage, which had been based on Confucian Sino-centrism, from hostile and distrusting to affirmative and trusting. Results of this study provide us with an opportunity to reflect upon ourselves and our approaches to classical Korean poetry as well as social issues related to immigrants in our country. We ourselves seem seized by Catholic Euro-centrism and Seoul-centrism, both of which could be thoughts of as the modern vestiges of Confucian Sino-centrism.

KEYWORDS: Classical Korean Poetry, Discriminatory Views and Attitudes, the Civilized and the Uncivilized, Yi Chi-Ran 李之蘭, Kim ch'ung-Sŏn 金忠善, Confucian Sino-Centrism & Seoul-Centrism

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INTRODUCTION

There are two unusual writers, Yi Chi-ran 李之蘭 (Tungkurunturantimur 修古論豆蘭帖木兒, 1331-1402) and Kim Ch'ung-sŏn 金忠善 (Sayaka 沙也可, 1571-1642), in Korean literary history. Yi Chi-ran was born in a place inside the Jurchen territory that most people of Koryŏ Korea had deemed 'the uncivilized' world. He moved into Koryŏ during the dynasty change from Yuan to Ming China, and settled in the Korean territory by distinguishing himself in the continuous wars and battles that occurred during the dynasty change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn in the Korea Peninsula. He became a Jurchen-Korean and the progenitor of a new family, named Ch'ŏnghae Yi 靑海李氏, of the noble class. By comparison, Kim Ch'ung-sŏn was born in Japan that had also been deemed an 'uncivilized' country by native Korean people of the time. He surrendered and moved to Chosŏn during the Japanese Invasions (1592-1598). He had distinguished himself in the wars and battles since his surrendering. His social status was quite high to settle in Chosŏn society. He became a Japanese-Korean and the member of a family, Kimhae Kim 金海金氏¹.

¹ According to *Mohatang Silka* 慕夏堂實記 (True Records of Kim Ch'ung-sŏn) (1911), he was the progenitor of *Urok Kim*'s family 友鹿金氏, a

Despite both of them not being native Koreans nor literary men, Yi Chi-ran and Kim Ch'ung-sŏn wrote a member of Korean poems. What made them compose Korean poems? Seeking out an answer by using the method of contextual study is the primary goal of this study. In the process of this study, we could meet a certain way of 'thinking' and 'feeling' familiar to us. That way could be the reason why their Korean poems in the past have been scarcely noticed by our scholars. However, we expect that this study could verify that their Korean poems are more valuable than those made by native Korean writers in the pre-modern times.

Context and Reference in Yi Chi-Ran's Poem

Yi Chi-ran, as we know, did not remain any more piece of literature than a Korean (short) poem² as below:

The tiger roaring in the mountain Chu; the dragon sleeping in the lake land Peize

Are belching the cloud and raising the wind. How vigorous it is!

The lonely deer of Qindoes not know where to go!³

The speaker shows an affirmative attitude toward a situation in which 'the tiger' (the imagery of Xiang Yu) and 'the dragon' (the imagery of Liu Bang, the founder of Han Dynasty) are tracing 'the lonely deer of Qin' (the imagery of the Qin Emperor) together, competing for the Emperor seat of the Chinese world with each other. Since Sima Qian (145-90 B.C.) named the very situation '*Zhongyuanzhulu*中原逐鹿' of Chinese words in his famous history book, *Shiji* 史記, whenever the same situation as the end of Qin repeatedly occurred in Chinese history, Chinese intellectuals had used to clarify the situation with the words or '*Qunxiongzhulu*群雄逐鹿'. All the imagery of from the first line to the first half of the second line compose the historic situation that the unified dynasty, the Lord of the Chinese (civilized) world, was in the midst of collapse crisis, with the two more prominent heroes were battling to take possession of the Emperor's seat in the Chinese territory.

Some critics have assumed that 'the lonely deer of Qin' refers to a certain king in the last period of Koryŏ Dynasty and that 'the tiger' and 'the dragon' could be the poetic imagery of Yi Sŏng-kye (1335-1408), the founder of Chosŏn Dynasty. The actual end of the Koryŏ Dynasty, however, does not reinforce this comparison. There was only the prominent hero who was willing to take the king's seat at the end of Koryŏ. All the people including the member of the ruling class of the Koryŏ Dynasty did not consider their king as 'the lonely deer of Qin'. Secondly, any king of Koryŏ in the period had never taken the seat of Emperor because all the people had being conceding that their country was dependent on the large power, the Lord of the Chinese world. Thus, we cannot assume that the situation of the text would refer to a certain historical situation that occurred inside the Koryŏ country (Yim, 2016: 16-19).

The context that certainly guarantees the semantic coherence of the textual words seems related to Yi Chi-ran's defection from Yuan to Koryŏ. He, as a Jurchen-Yuan general, had been taking an active part of military affairs of the Yuan Dynasty with Yi Sŏng-kye in the Eastern-Northern Area of the Korean Peninsula. The situation in the text literally refers to the situation that occurred during the historic change of the Chinese world, the dynasty change from Qin to Han, and it clearly corresponds to the historic dynasty change from Yuan to Ming. Facing this historic change, Yi Chi-ran worried

offshoot of *Kimhae Kim's* family (Kwon, 1967: 37).

² According to Kim (2015: 1067-1068), its text appears thirty-eight times in thirty-seven types of *Kachip* 歌集 (collection of Korean poems) before the Korean Liberation (1945).

³ No.0378, *Kagok Wolyu* 歌曲源流 (Song's Origin and Sources: A collection of Korean poems) (Toyobunko).

about his way of life and lastly determined to change his affiliation to move his political base from Yuan to Koryŏ (1371). One year before then, the Koryŏ Dynasty purged and expelled the group supporting the Yuan Dynasty from the political society, and ceased her subservience to Yuan and announced their intention to worship the Ming Dynasty as the Lord of the Chinese (civilized) world. And about two years before the announcement of the Koryŏ Dynasty, the Emperor of Yuan, Shun, ran away, giving up the second capital Shangdu, the first-established capital of Yuan Dynasty in Chinese territory by Khubilai Khan (1256), on the verge of an all-out war against military troops leaded by Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of Ming Dynasty (1368). Thus, the textually-represented situation of the world corresponds to the context of historical situation before that time. The semantic coherence of words of the text can be only guaranteed in this context.

Reading the text in this context, we can firstly analyze Yi Chi-ran's awareness of historical reality of the time. We seldom find a literary work in which a native Korean writer of the period clearly presented such an awareness that the turbulent reality of the world would result in the same historic change as the dynasty change from Qin to Han. It must be so difficult that someone who is in the process of historical event could foresee the result and to determine his political stance in the future. It might be more difficult that the member of the ruling class, the main beneficiaries of Yuan's reign, were aware of the change and its historical inevitability. Someone eager to maintain his social status and political base tends to cling to his vested rights and cannot perceive the change of the world. And he is, as we know, likely to be irresolute while facing such a shake of the world order. But Yi Chi-ran, a Jurchen-Yuan general, had experienced a lot of battles and wars, each of which needed an ability of bold determination, putting up with the defeat and death of his soldiers. Without any battle or war experience, perhaps he could not reach such an awareness of the historical reality. Yi Chi-ran had watched not only the development of the worldwide situations but also that of the nationwide political situations of Koryŏ until she eliminated the group supporting Yuan from the political society and announced changing her tribute relations from Yuan to Ming. This implies not only that Yi Chi-ran's insight into the future was based on his abilities of accurate, elaborate, and meticulous observation, analysis, and judgment of the reality, but also that his intention of composing the poem was related to his characteristics as a civilized man.

Then the question becomes, what caused Yi Chi-ran to present such awareness and characteristics by composing Korean poetry, not Classical Chinese poetry? The answer seems basically related to the fact that he was a native Jurchen general⁴. Korean people especially intellectuals in the pre-modern times had become accustomed to classify people into two sorts, 'Hwa 華' ('the civilized') and 'Yi 夷' ('the uncivilized'), on grounds of literacy or the ability of reading and writing Classical Chinese literature. In their own view, the civilized people had an aptitude to admire cultural power or the cultural cosmos of the world and they had mainly lived inside the Chinese world; the uncivilized people worshipped military power or the military ruling system of the world had mainly lived outside the Chinese world. Although they and their ancestors had lived outside the Chinese territory, Korean people had also been willing to classify themselves with the civilized. Especially the member of *Sachok* 士族 class, the noble class, could have tried to have sufficient literacy to succeed in life to become civilized men. It was natural that they, with these discriminatory eyes, looked at people who surrendered to Koryŏ hoping to settle in the Koryŏ territory. While Chinese immigrants including exiles had scarcely been unkindly treated, immigrants from outside the Chinese territory had seldom been kindly treated. It was also natural that

⁴ His language seems so different from Korean language of the age. By the way, he and his ancestors including his parents and grandparents had lived with Korean people in the Eastern-Northern area of Korea Peninsula. It means that there was not a wall too high to communicate with each other. In this point, we know it is not important to inquire Korean language. What is important is the fact that song is one of the more universal means of communication than poetry written in Classical Chinese language.

Chinese immigrants who was literate in Confucian literary arts got a high social status and made a political base in the Capital. After all, Korean people especially the member of the ruling class had discriminated against foreign immigrants or defectors upon their literacy, the ability of reading and writing Classical Chinese language.

Poetry had been deemed one of the most sufficient means of evaluating such literacy, so it used to be a subject of nationwide selection examinations. Ability to compose Chinese poetry was based on Confucian literary arts, so every noble man had learned the arts from early childhood. We could not make sure that Yi Chi-ran had such ability, because he did not leave behind any Chinese poems. Perhaps, he did not have sufficient poetic capacity to compose Chinese poetry because of growing up to be a general. However, although it is not a Chinese poem, his poem seems so sufficient as to verify his poetic capacity, because in not considering lack of aesthetic requirements of Chinese poetry, it could be compared with other Chinese poems by the member of the noble class in the time. Then, we could deduce that Yi Chi-ran was looking forward to communicating his characteristics of the civilized as the member of the noble class of Koryŏ by composing the Korean poem based on Chinese history, the main elements of all the courses of education in the Koryŏ Dynasty.

Jurchen had geopolitically neighboured Koryŏ. Excluding the age when they established the Empire Jin (1115-1234) by themselves, Jurchen people used to be subjected to a more powerful country in the neighbourhood of their resident places (Song, 1994). Lots of Jurchen used to be spontaneously subjected to Koryŏ Dynasty not only before the establishment of the Jin Empire but also after the Collapse of the Empire. By the way, whenever such an event occurred, the people of Koryŏ used to be more critical of Jurchen immigrants than other foreign ones, because the especially noble men and their ancestors had treated Jurchen people and territory as the worst uncivilized of the world. That is the reason why we cannot find a Jurchen-Korean who successfully settled in Koryŏ country before Yi Chi-ran. While facing the historic change, Yi Chi-ran might acknowledge the history of his ancestors who had served the Koryŏ Dynasty and pondered on his followers' futures. Otherwise, he might have determine his defection from Yuan to Koryŏ Dynasty more early than then.⁵

Not all the member of the noble class could succeed in social or political life because the door of success was opened only to the numerical minority of the class. Furthermore, plenty of members of the class were in the state of not knowing how to read and write Classical Chinese poetry under the Yuan reign, not because the door had become narrower than before, but because there were many more opportunities than before. Not only the member of the noble class but also members of other lower classes even slaves could make success for political life without any 'literacy' of Confucian literary arts based on Sino-centrism. That 'literacy' was needed to the only ones who were looking forward to making success through passing the national selection examinations. In this environment the Korean poem of Yi Chi-ran's could be more effective means of communication among all the member of the noble class and other classes as well. In this point, we assume that he selected not Chinese poetry but Korean poetry in order to communicate with more native Korean people than the member of the noble class. In other words, he expected that the Korean poem could change the expected view and attitudes of Korean people especially noble men toward him, a Jurchen general, from negative and hostile to positive and affirmative. Considering the way of 'thinking' and 'feeling' formed in their minds by Confucianism based on Sino-centrism, Yi Chi-ran hoped to get rid of their prejudice against a Jurchen general by showing he was not different from themselves⁶.

⁵Since about 1356, many Jurchen people had surrendered to Koryŏ (Wang, 2003; Min, 2009).

⁶Here, we also assume that the reason why he chose Korean poetry, not Chinese poetry, was not due to his general lack of poetic capacity.

Recently, some researchers have taken notice of some naturalized figures including Yi Chi-ran in Korean history. They have often assumed that he had successfully and smoothly settled in Korean territory by virtue of the Korean people's open mind or flexible attitude toward foreign immigrants and that, if we inherited that spiritual heritage, we could solve many problems of our contemporary society where, according to the demographics, the ratio of the immigrant people has been conspicuously increasing. However, these researchers have not noted the fact that since his surrender Yi Chi-ran had made more significant contributions to the country than had most native Korean people. He could not avoid risking his life in battles and wars against rebellions inside the country and external invasions in the process of becoming a citizen and gaining such high social status as to keep from being treated as one of the 'inner' uncivilized by the members of the noble class. He also had to try to continuously show his characteristics of being civilized to native Korean people, standing against discriminatory eyes or prejudices of the people.⁷

Yi Chi-ran had changed his way of life from maintaining his political base in Seoul to retiring his public office in his home county, which had belonged to Chosŏn since the establishment of the country, and converting himself to Buddhism. It is quite difficult find a general who abandoned his political base that were the reward for his contributions to the country. His decision might clearly deliver his messages to natives that he did not pursue any more desire for worldly success and he could not free himself of guilt of killing numerous people during the past wars. Both messages connote that he was truly a civilized man. But Confucians who were seized by Sino-centrism might criticize him because of 'converting to Buddhism'. In the history of Chosŏn, it is not difficult to find Confucian noble men who killed a lot of their political opponents for gaining or maintaining political power. They were the most civilized inn their own mind, but were they really?

Context and Reference in Kim Ch'ung-Sŏn's Korean Long Poem

Kim Ch'ung-sŏn surrendered to Chosŏn and received such a high political status⁸ as to seat the floor of the royal palace, owing to the policy of the red-carpet treatment for Japanese who surrendered to Chosŏn, Hangwoe 降倭 during the Japanese Invasion. The ruling group members, including King Sŏncho, were aware that they could help win the war, not only because they were expected to be powerful warriors against Japanese troops but also because the policy was expected to result in more surrender of Japanese warriors⁹. It is clear that he was one of the main beneficiaries of the policy. But it is clear too that he had taken active parts and distinguished himself in the continuous wars and battles after his surrender. His social status was not merely the result of special respect. In fact, it was not higher than that of a native Korean of the noble class with the same exploits. He had no public office in the court, nor could he make his political base in Seoul.

Although he had tried to get rid of possible misunderstandings by devoting himself in wars and battles against inner and external enemies and making social and literary actions through which he presented himself as being civilized, he could not help worrying about his or his descendants' future. That he composed several pieces of Korean poetry as well as Chinese poetry and prose seems to reflect those views and attitudes.

Kim Ch'ung-sŏn had more or less an ability of reading and writing Classical Chinese language before his

⁷ Because he was not blinded by that prejudice, Yi Chi-ran could read signs of the historic change of the world, more deeply and more correctly.

⁸ Not all of those who had high social status could make their political base in Seoul. Who routinely participated in the Court assembly just could do it and hold political authority. Even if he formally received the political status, Kim Ch'ung-sŏn could not hold any political authority.

⁹ The policy was, in actuality, enforced by some generals of the Ming Dynasty after the Peace Talks between the expeditionary troops of the dynasty and Japanese troops (1593).

surrender. But he was not so sophisticated a writer of Chinese poetry, lacking all the skills ordinarily required in composing it, so that his own Chinese poems could not get attentions of the intellectuals in his time. He also composed some Korean short poems in order to communicate his thoughts and emotions with native Koreans. But his Korean short poems, too, could not get the attentions of the expected readers, not due to lack of poetic sensibility but because of lack of musical ability and sense. Korean short poems were often accepted as an object of listening, i.e., a song, not as that of reading. When Korean short poems became one of the repertory of popular singers in his time, it could be accepted by the public. So while sensing that death was near (1640), instead, by composing a Korean long poem, *Mohatang Sulhwoe* 慕夏堂述懷¹⁰, gathering all the thoughts and emotions that he would like to have expressed in all the literary texts before then, he tried to communicate with native Koreans living in the area of his second hometown, more seriously and more eagerly.

Mohatang Sulhwoe was, simply put, a sort of autobiographical records of his life history, i.e., a self-narrative poem. ‘Mohatang’, his self-called name, reflected the thought that he was a bitter favorer of the Chinese world. It was primarily composed for his descendants. In other words, its primary goal was to urge his descendants to put his way of life into practice in their own daily lives in their present and future. Incidentally, a male writer who composed self-confessional writings, making use of the form of Korean long poetry, presumed that their writings would finally deliver his own thoughts and emotions to the others more than the explicitly expected readers (Jeong, 2009:68). The writer, Kim Ch’ung-sŏn was also likely to communicate his own thoughts and emotions not only with his descendants but also with other native Korean people, especially local residents in the area of his settling place. His lack of musical ability and sense was not a serious obstruction in the communication by Korean long poem, because it was regularly accepted just as an object of reading.

The Long Poem of 231 Lines begins as Below

- O! How many downs and obstacles were in the road of my life!
- Not at a place of the widest world but at a place of the southern barbarian territory,
- Why was I born and grew up, being accustomed to barbarian costume and language?
- Experiencing once the good products of Chinese civilization, it was the hope of mine.
- The heaven knew my mind; Gods were moved by it, perhaps.
- While Kato Kiyomasa was going on conquest of the East, Chosŏn,
- He let me, young and illiterate, take the vanguard.
- Although I inwardly thought that his raising troops contravened justice,
- Because I had been eager to see the country of courteous people once,
- I was pleased to get the halberdier from him and to take the role,

¹⁰There is an issue as to the writer of the poem, because the text contained a word ‘*Inmyo-cho*’ (仁廟朝) (the period of King Incho). Some scholars have insisted that because *Inmyo* was the name for the tomb of the king, he cannot be the writer of the poem; others have insisted that the word was just a transcriptional fault by his descendants and we can often see such phenomenon in other pieces of Korean poetry (Kwon, 1967: 37-47). We have no other documentary evidence to prove which opinion is true or false. However, we must accept the fact that Kim Ch’ung-sŏn as well as his descendants had hoped for more direct communication with other native Korean people via the poem, despite lack of musical sensibility. Therefore, we can read the text in this context.

- Making a solemn vow in my mind that I would not come back home.
- I paid my respects to the family gravesite, and said good-bye to all the relatives of mine.
- At the moment of leaving seven children and two wives of mine,
- If I could say I had no grief feeling in the mind, it must be empty words.
- As soon as we listened to drum of the march, we set sail.
- Spears and swords had sharp edges like the autumn frost; flags canopied the sky!
- While rowing along with the watercourse, and waiting tailwinds,
- A heroic spirit spewed from my mind; a brave heart was high-blown.
- While drawing and gripping the long sword of mine, and leaning on the board,
- I was feeling myself as if I was the most valorous man in the world.
- How high the Osaka Fortress was! It was rising over the sea!
- How awesome the Tsushima Island was! Here was the East country.¹¹

In the first line, we assume that the speaker, Kim Ch'ung-sŏn, would like to talk about how many challenges he had faced in the process of settling in Chosŏn society and how he could overcome them with more difficulty and more pain, but more success. From the second line to the 22nd he reflects on the motivation for his betrayal of Japan, his attitude to his Japanese family and ancestry, and the powerfulness of Japanese troops in great pomp, in turn. In brief, he speaks that his taking the lead in the military line was not because of the weakness of Japanese troops nor their warlike features, one of the characteristics of the uncivilized, but because of his bitterly longing for the Chinese world. He is stating that he was born with a fate of a civilized man.

In the next lines (23rd to 41st), he presents that as soon as arriving at the Chosŏn territory, he started to be moved by all the civilized products of Chosŏn country. At the end of these lines he wrote, ⁴¹ 'I will enjoy the time of eternal peace, serving the sage king of the East.' Speaking highly of Chosŏn, he empathizes that as the result of being moved he changed his purpose from just an experience of the civilized world in Chosŏn to actual settlement in the country, the East of the Chinese world. These lines could be more effective to reinforce an affirmative attitude of the people toward him.

Most of the people of Chosŏn in all his life had tended to believe that those who had the same military status as Sayaka (his name before naturalized) could not betray their own country. Furthermore, he was, as he was conceding himself, a barbarian. Then, the people might have continuously checked if he bore a certain traitorous mind as well as if he was an uncivilized man. The fact that he abandoned his family and ancestors could make them doubt his sincerity, because they had lived in a Confucian society where the filial duty that they had to take care of their parents from the cradle to the grave was the most fundamental of all the duties. Practice of the duty had been deemed the basic principle of all the individual and social behaviours including practicing the loyalty and sincerity to king and the country. Even if he could have been naturalized in favour of the Chinese world, most of the people might have never ceased their suspicion of his identity. Thus, in these lines, considering their discriminatory views based on Confucianism, the speaker is talking

¹¹ For the full text, see Kwon (1967, 51-57). All the quotations of the text in this paper are extracted and translated by the author.

about that he had certain features of a Confucian in his mind before and after his participation in the war. He would like to clarify to the expected readers that while he took part in war, he was dutiful to his parents and ancestors, faithful to his family and his own country, and he was only longing for experiencing the civilized world, or escaping from his barbarian life for a brief period not for settling in that world. Thus he emphasizes that he switched his determination to betraying his own family and country entirely due to being influenced by the cultural materials of the country, Chosŏn. In this point, these lines closely relate to the last lines (225th to 231st) of the poem. In the latter, he describes himself as a man who has had feelings of guilt about abandoning his own family and ancestry and his own country.

In the next lines (42nd to 79th), he speaks of his experiences in the war as a general of Chosŏn. Here are two notable thoughts that the goal of his active participation in the war after his surrender was just to keep the civilized country from being destroyed by the barbarian troops and that even if he was rewarded with a status of nobleman, a new family name of the noble class, and a living place for settling down, the reward was not the right of his military exploits but the special treatment by the king, because all the brilliant accomplishments resulted from the virtue of the sage king. As well, while presenting these thoughts, the speaker itemizes his own contributions. In other words, on the one hand he shows that he has made more contributions than native generals, on the other hand he intimates he is content with his lot. Those who have grown up with Confucianism treat ‘satisfaction with his lot’ as one of the most significant characteristics of a civilized man. The virtue of social behavior was particularly emphasized by Confucius, the founder of Confucianism. Most noblemen had not practiced the virtue for themselves but evaluated others with such a criterion. Kim Ch’ung-sŏn might have gradually come to know such a social climate of the country especially in the intellectual society since the war. Thus, in the last two of these lines, ⁷⁸ After winning battles here and there for eight years and dedicating all the exploits to the king, ⁷⁹ A living place in the southern area of the country, Yŏngnam, was supplied by the king’, writes Kim Ch’ung-sŏn.

That he retired to a place given by the king as soon as he knew there was no more military role means connotes that he had not desired any more than the things rewarded by the king for his contributions to the country, rather than his always being concerned about receiving more rewards than his exploits deserved. Here, we more clearly know that the authenticity of his behaviors had unceasingly been scrutinized by the native people of Chosŏn. Of course, we do not have so sufficient evidence to prove it, but it is clear that his spontaneous participation in mortal combats during the civil war, the first challenge after the war, basically resulted from natives’ initial distrust of his authenticity.

Such a developing social climate let him stand at the head of troops in the rebellion of Yi Kwal (1624) and the Manchurian Invasions. Political conflicts and struggles among the parties of the noble class became fiercer after the war than before. Especially under King Kwanghaekun’s reign numerous noblemen were isolated from the court, killed or exiled. After dethroning Kwanghaekun and enthroning Incho (the historic event was led by the party Sŏin 西人), the numerical majority of those who had been isolated were still being isolated. Yi Kwal, one of the most contributors to the historic event, thought in reality that his rewards could not come up with his expectations, rallied a part of the isolated people, and revolted against the dynasty. That was the rebellion of Yi Kwal. No sooner was a news that some Japanese surrenders participated in the rebellion spreading in the country than began Kim Ch’ung-sŏn to be suspected as a conspirator. At the point, he might explicitly realize that his identity had still been inquired by native people. And at the same point, we more or less rationally appreciate the fact that the statements on the rebellion, which only lasted a bit more than one month, in the next lines (80th to 110th) are not filling up less lines than those on the former war (42nd to 79th), and the fact

that he was being figured as a national hero as well as an intrepid general. Kim Ch'ung-sŏn, although he could be nobleman and settle in a small local county of Chosŏn Dynasty, Kach'ang 嘉昌, he could not help struggling to maintain his social status and base of life. The rebellion of Yi Kwal made him face a serious challenge to prove his identity, because there was spreading a rumor that he had being engaged in the rebellion. In fact, there was only indirect evidence to the engagement, that is, some of his like-minded colleagues of Hangwoe including a general of the rebellion troops, Sŏ A-chi 徐牙之 who had accomplished a lot of remarkable contributions to Yi Kwal, took part in the rebellion. So he needed more brilliant accomplishments than other native generals in the battles for surpassing the rebellion. Without his remarkable exploits one of which was that of cutting off Sŏ A-chi's head, the dynasty had much difficulties to win the rebellion. He states in these lines that while most of the commanders who took part in the battles against the rebellion, with literary indulgence to the neglect of military arts, were only being busy attributing the win to themselves and seeking a way of promoting political status after the civil war, he decided to go back to the new settlement. He is emphasizing that he did not desire, highlighting that he could not, any political base in Seoul while most of the native intellectuals did, as follows:

- Killing enemies and suppressing the revolt by means of the sage king's divine help,
- If considering all the factors, it could be my contribution!
- How was I awed! An edict with lands and a symbol of nobleman was presented.
- How deep was the king's favour; I could not stop being moved to tears!
- Doing one's best for the affairs of the king is only the duty of a subject,
- How could I get an award for cutting off the head of a general of the enemy army?
- How could I receive the lands of other people's as a subject!
- I obstinately refused to accept the lands, it could not be helped. I will give them back,
- I will supply the military provisions with the grain of the lands before then.

He makes use of the same tactic of telling of his experience as stated above, that is, on the one hand he shows that he made more contributions than native generals, on the other hand he implies he was content with his lot. The same tactic is repeatedly used in telling his experience of another serious challenge to his expected readers.

The Manchurian Invasions (1627, 1636) gave him additional serious challenges. The first invasion occurred when he became the head of a family with a wife and six children. He, at 65, was too old to fight in the war, and none of his sons (22, 20, 17, 14, and 10)¹² could gain social or political status. He made efforts to do his duty as the head of the new family to build up a solid foundation for the continuous success of his children and descendants as a member of the noble class. He had taught his children the significance of doing their duties of filial piety, brotherly love together, and loyalty and sincerity to the king and the country. In particular, doing the duty of loyalty to the king and the country was the most significant because he entirely owed his success in life to his practice of doing his duty.

He could not foresee another national crisis such as the Japanese Invasion or the civil war. The Manchurian

¹²His daughter's name and age have never been known. She married a native nobleman (Kown, 1967:37).

Invasions were unexpected events to him. He needed to practice himself what he had taught his children; establishing a stable and steady foundation. He could not voluntarily take part in the war, but if not, he could get a stigma of antinomy. Thus, he tried to distinguish himself in the war.

He spontaneously participated in the First Manchurian Invasion as soon as he had heard of the news, and distinguished himself in pacifying the disturbance in the Northern Area neighboring the Manchurian territory for about ten years. As a reward, the king gave him some agricultural lands and another acknowledgement of social status of the nobleman. The speaker tells that he was too honoured but he tried not to receive them because they were more excessive to a Japanese foreigner like him than his exploits as below:

- How is King Favour to me, just a Japanese foreigner?
- While surrendering to the East, because of admiring the proprieties,
- I only hoped to raise my own children and making them civilized.
- Riches and fame both were not expected,
- And there must have been no man who had riches and fame like me.
- After saying good-bye and returning hometown,
- I had been afraid of the unmerited favours and I had seen so ashamed day and night.

He states that although he devoted himself to the war the rewards for his exploits were so excessive that he was embarrassed. In reality, his rewards appear to more exceed his exploits. However, such rewards were intended by the members of the ruling class for Japanese surrenders who had been mainly living in the province due to the policy of *Yiyicheyi* 以夷制夷 (the thought that barbarians should be controlled by barbarians, i.e., uncivilized men) to devotedly take part in the war. As it seems, he was still treated as a barbarian by the elite. In the next lines (134th to 190th), we read that his sense of honour and shame became the main motivation for his spontaneous participation in the war against the Second Manchurian Invasion.

We do not know his activities in the war against the second Manchurian Invasion, but he reminds the reader that he killed tens of thousands of enemies for four hours in the battlefield after his spontaneous participation in the war began. This figure must be exaggerated. But he also conceded his cruelty that resulted in the defeat of his troops. And he presents the same judgment as the ruling class of the country, the judgment that even if the loss was a humiliating defeat, it was incurred by the will of Heaven. The members of the ruling group had tried to pour such fatalism into the people's minds. Even if he could attribute the responsibility of the loss to others, he did not need to justify himself either. Instead, he states that he sympathized with jingoism and selected to retire to the second hometown and to cultivate more features and characteristics of himself and his children as Confucians, burning with vengeance against the barbarian enemy. These thoughts and emotions also were in accord with those of noble men who abandoned their political base in Seoul and retired to their hometown, supporting the rulers. As it seems, considering the social climate of his time, Kim Ch'ung-sŏn clearly shows that he agreed with the members of the ruling class. It is likely to mean that he had become a Confucian in reality.

No sooner had the war resulted in the defeat of the country than he came back to his second hometown, while most intellectuals of the noble class were eager to lead the political situation. Watching such a political situation, he selected to keep on the way of his life as a Confucian, ceasing his relationship with other members of the ruling class like he had done before the war. In this point, he seemed to hope to communicate with native Korean people more urgently than before.

The next lines (191st to 205th) are filled with pieces of his daily life after his return to his second hometown. He states that since the return he has lived the regular life of a local noble man. The life looks like that of a Confucian who keeps the principle that man should be content with his condition.

And the next lines (206th to 224th) look like his dying words for his descendants, as he reviews his whole life and he gives some messages for his descendants. He reviews that his life was successful because although he contributed himself to the cause of the country, the rewards had not been less than those given by the native Koreans. The rewards had been not more than those of the same native contributors if viewed in his life history of the poem, self-narrative records. Of course, if, like he does, we presumed that he was just an enemy warrior of Japanese descent, matters could be different. But it is clear that he could not create any political base in Seoul.

Such a presumptions, too, indicate that he could not be conscious of the discriminatory views of the native Korean people even in the area of his second hometown at the moment of composing the poem. That the dynasty chose to dedicate a Shrine to him (1794) is not because he was a noble man who had practiced all the duties, but because he was like a faithful dog or cow. The member of the ruling group had also intended to urge his continuous loyalty to the king and the country through continuous rewards to him. If not, he could not settle in an area where his social status was higher than his second hometown. By the way, before and after his settling, his second hometown had belonged to one of the lowest counties in terms of political status. It means that residents of the county seldom had made a political base of their own in Seoul or near of the capital. Kim Ch'ung-sŏn also seemed to acknowledge of this social climate. And he would like to teach his descendants living their lives to be content with the situation as local noble men, *Hyangch'on Sachok* 鄉村士族, like he did. If he had been a native general, he could make his own political base in Seoul.

Despite being one of the requirements for peace, military arts tend to be classified into the uncivilized by Confucians of Chosŏn, in contrast to literary arts, i.e., clusters of Chinese knowledge based on Confucianism or Sino-centrism that constitute transformation of Confucianism since the period of Han China. This spiritual climate of the country also would affect him to try to learn the literary arts and to practice the life of a Confucian.

We Draw Some Conclusions from the Discussion above on Kim Ch'ung-Sŏn's the Korean Long Poem as Follows

- He itemizes his military exploits in all the wars in his whole life after his surrender to Chosŏn with the aim to strengthen the foundation of the social status of his family especially his descendants through making native Koreans, who were likely to be more concerned with the result than the process, remember his contributions to the king and the country.
- He repeatedly presents the truth and authenticity of his behaviours because his loyalty and sincerity to the king and the country had been continuously doubted by native Koreans including residents of the county until the time of composing the poem.

- He also repeatedly reminds the reader of makeup of his ancestry as well as his life phase from the time of his surrender to the time of his composing the poem with aim of verifying to Koreans that his defection from Japan could not be incompatible with his loyalty and sincerity to Chosŏn through showing the things that he abandoned were not the duties for his Japanese family and country but the uncivilized characteristics of them.

Thus, we assume that the main goal of the poem was to change native Korean people's discriminatory views and attitudes toward him and his descendants from hostile and suspicious to affirmative and trusting by showing his identity that is not different from the identities of the people seized by Confucianism based on Sino-centrism¹³.

CONCLUSIONS: SIGNIFICANCES OF KOREAN POEMS CREATED BY THE NATURALIZED

In recent decades, the immigrant ratio of Korea's population has evidently been increasing, so many scholars have studied the way to attain to harmony between native people and immigrants from foreign countries—especially the southern countries—and the way to ensure their smooth settlements into Korean society. Some scholars have noticed Yi Chi-ran and Kim Ch'ung-sŏn's life histories, regarding both of them as precedents that show how immigrants can smoothly and successfully settle in Korean society. But they have seldom paid attentions to of the extreme difficulty and challenges both people had had to overcome in the process of settling. And they have been likely to give prominence to the supposed magnanimity or open-mind attitude of Korean people toward immigrants in the pre-modern times. However, such approaches could not help solve the social issues occurring in contemporary times. We need to remind ourselves of the reasons why Yi Chi-ran and Kim Ch'ung-sŏn created their Korean poems. We cannot neglect the Korean people's discriminatory views and attitudes based on Confucian Sino-centrism towards people from the places outside the Chinese world. All the current issues are likely to have resulted from nativism or ultra-nationalism based on Catholic Euro-centrism, the modern transformation of Confucian Sino-centrism.

Since the majority of Korean intellectuals pursued 'modernity of the West' as the best value of life, most Korean people have taken a friendly attitude toward every Caucasian whose mother tongue belongs to the European languages, including American English. On the other hand, they have belittled everyone from outside of the West. The things that changed are substances of 'knowledge' and 'language' for individuals have to learn for success in life, not the way of 'thinking' and 'feeling'. Most intellectuals in modern times have the same discriminatory views and attitudes toward immigrants as those that most Confucian intellectuals in the pre-modern times had have.

That way of 'thinking' and 'feeling' had bitterly bothered the two naturalized people throughout their whole life in Korean territory. It could be, in all ages, the most problematic thing because it has not only realized in discriminatory views and attitude toward foreigners or immigrants but also towards all the people ourselves. We have the right to have our own social status according to the level of our contributions to the society, but not according to birthplace, mother tongue, literacy of language, vested bases or rights, job or work, sex, religion, and so on.

Particularly, Seoul-centrism, which has been prevalent in our society as days go by, also seems to shape of the way of 'thinking' and 'feeling' impact us. In all ages, the longer lasts the condition of peace the more flows Seoul-centrism in a country. All the people of Korea are likely to regard themselves as 'the self' (i.e., 'the civilized' or 'the cultivated'), but the ruling group members whose political status and base are in Seoul regard the people besides themselves as

¹³In other words, his life history of the self-narrative poem could be summarized the process of his assimilation with the way of 'thinking' and 'feeling' of Confucians.

‘the other’ (i.e., the uncivilized’ or ‘the uncultivated’). Most intellectuals believe that they themselves and their children could be a member of a group at such a high level of social class, and they have taken part in expanding the Seoul-centrism. But it looks like something that they delude themselves with. Despite less than on percentage of teenagers who would be popular celebrities or professional athletes, making a significant income, more than ninety-nine percentage of them, as we know, always believe that they will become a success. Two naturalized writers of Korean poetry show how deeply rooted this way of ‘thinking’ and ‘feeling’ has been in our society and how difficult it would be overcome by ourselves. In this point, reading Korean poems created by Yi Chi-ran and Kim Ch’ung-sŏn in the context of the texts gives us opportunities of reflecting on ourselves more deeply and more accurately.

In addition, Yi Chi-ran’s Korean poem teaches us that unless we change the way of ‘thinking’ and ‘feeling’, we cannot perceive the historic change of the world. If we could not perceive it, we should, in all ages and in the future, live under the control of power that has often masqueraded as the power of the civilization just as our ancestors had.

Kim Ch’ung-sŏn’s Korean long poem lets us essentially question ourselves, ‘Why do our researchers highly evaluate Korean poems whose writers had hid themselves in the crisis of the country differently from him? Why did the famous writers including Chŏng Ch’ŏl鄭澈and Yun Sŏndo尹善道 purged the opposition forces each other for making their political authority and bases in Seoul?’ ‘Which writers are the authentically civilized men?’

Our scholars seem to have seldom noticed both of the writers considered here and their Korean poems because their approach methods of analysis for Korean poetry is based on the same philosophy as that of those who had the authority of politics in pre-modern times. We also need to more closely scrutinize the specific context of literary works of the famous writers, checking whether their authorities of Korean poetry have improperly assigned by our scholars since the beginning of the modern times in the academic world of Korea.

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